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Ordered by the Commons in
Parliament assembled, That
this Document be forthwith printed
and published.

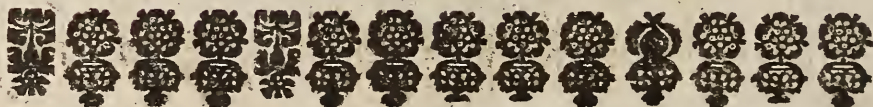
Hon: Jacob M. Clarke
Parliament.



Die Sabbathi, 17 Martii, 1648.

ORdered by the Commons in
Parliament assembled, That
this Declaration be forthwith printed
and published.

*Hen: Scobell, Cleric.
Parliamenti.*



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DECLARATION
OF THE
PARLIAMENT
OF
ENGLAND,

Expressing the Grounds of their late
PROCEEDINGS,

And of Setling the present

GOVERNMENT

In the way of

A Free State.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Edward Husband*, Printer to the Honorable House of
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EXPLANATION

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A Free State

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The Parliament of *England*,
Expressing the Grounds of their late Pro-
ceedings, and of Settling the present
Government in the way of
A FREE STATE.

THe *Parliament* of *England*, Elected by the
People whom they Represent, and by them
Trusted and Authorized for the *Common*
good, having long contended against *Ty-*
ranny; and to procure the *well-being* of those whom
they serve, and to remove *Oppression*, *Arbitrary*
power, and all *Opposition* to the *Peace* and *Freedom* of
the *Nation*, Do humbly and thankfully acknowledge
the Blessing of Almighty God upon their weak en-
deavors, and the hearty Assistance of the well-affected
in this Work, whereby the Enemies thereunto, both
publique and secret, are become unable for the pre-
sent, to hinder the perfecting thereof.

And to prevent their power to revive *Tyranny*, *In-*
justice, *War*, and all our former Evils, the *Parliament*
have been necessitated to the late *Alterations* in the

Government, and to that *Settlement* which they judge most conducive to the honor of God, and the good of the *Nation*, the onely end and duty of all their Labors.

And that this may appear the more clearly and generally, to the satisfaction of all who are concerned in it, they have thought fit to Declare and publish the *Grounds* of their *Proceedings*.

They suppose it will not be denyed, That the first *Institution* of the *Office* of *King* in this Nation, was by *Agreement* of the *People*, who chose one to that *Office* for the *protection* and *good* of them who chose him, and for their better *Government*, according to such *Laws* as they did consent unto.

And let those who have observed our Stories, recollect how very few have performed the *Trust* of that *Office* with Righteousness, and due care of their *Subjects* good.

And how many have made it their study and labor, to satisfy their particular *Ambition* and *Power*, with high Pressures and Miseries upon their *Subjects*; and with what horrid prodigality of *Christian blood*, upon Punctilio's of their own Honor, Personal Titles, and Distastes.

And in the whole Line of them, how far hath the late *King* exceeded all his *Predecessors*, in the destruction of those whom they were bound to preserve; and in stead of spreading his Protection to all, scarce permitting any to escape the violence of his fury.

To manifest this *Truth*, it will not be improper to take a short view of some passages in his *Reign*; wherein he much further out-went all his *Forefathers*

in evil, then any Example can be found of punishment.

In the dissolution of the *Parliament* the second year of his Reign, and afterwards he shewed an unnatural forgetfulness, to have the *violent Death* of his *Father* examined; The sad business of *Rochel* and the *Isle of Ree*, the poor Protestants of *France* do yet lament; The *Loans*, unlawful *Imprisonments*, and other Oppressions, which produced that excellent Law of the *Petition of Right*, were most of them again acted, presently after the Law made against them; which was most palpably broken by him almost in every part of it, very soon after his *Solemn Consent* given unto it. His *Imprisoning* and prosecution of *Members of Parliament*, for opposing his unlawful Will; and of divers worthy *Merchants*, for refusing to pay *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, because not granted by *Parliament*, yet exacted by him expressly against Law; and punishment of many good *Patriots*, for not submitting to whatsoever he pleased to demand, though never so much in breach of the known Law. The *multitude* of *Projects* and *Monopolies*, established by him; His Design and Charge to bring in *German Horse* to awe us into *Slavery*; and his hopes of compleating all by his Grand Project of *Ship-Money*, to subject every mans Estate to whatsoever proportion he onely pleased to impose upon them. The private *Solicitations*, promises of *Reward*, and *Threats* from him unto the *Judges* of Law, to cause them to do his Will, rather than equal Right, and to break his and their own Oathes. The Oppressions of the *Council-Table*, *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commission*,

Commission, Court-Marshal, of Wardships, Purveyances, Knighthood, Afforrestations, and many others of the like nature, need no large repetition, remaining yet in most of our Memories.

The exact *Slavery* forced upon those in *Ireland*, with the *Army of Papists* to maintain it, and the position of being loose and absolved from all *Rules of Government*, was but a pattern for the intended Model here.

The long *intermission* of our *Parliaments*, and the *determination* to be troubled with no more, and the great *mistake* in first sending the *new Service-Book* into *Scotland*, raised their opposition against him, and gave no encouragement to the *English* to engage against them; which with the doubtfulness of success, produced the last short *Parliament*, which was onely considered as to serve the *Kings pleasure*, to cloak his *breach* of the *pacification* with *Scotland*; and with *twelve Subsidies* demanded by him to buy out his unlawful and unjust *exaction* of *Ship-money*: But failing in his expectation therein, he suddenly and wilfully, to the terror of most men, dissolved it. The *Scots* upon the *Kings breach* of his *faith* with them, and perceiving the discontents amongst *us*, came with an *Army* into *England*: The *King* by many unjust and unlawful means, raised and brought a great force into the *North* to oppose them, where being moved by worthy *Petitions* from several parts, and by the honorable Endeavors of many Noble Persons, but principally by perceiving the backwardness of his *Subjects* of both *Kingdoms*, at that time to engage in the *destruction* of one another; for which end, such
numbers

numbers of gallant men were prepared by *him*, whose *Office* was to be the preserver of them: And seeing no other way, he did at last condescend to do that part of his *duty* to call this *Parliament*. Vast *sums* of *money* were required and raised of the people of *England*, to gratifie those by whom they had been highly damnified; and both *Armies* paid by *them*, who neither occasioned nor consented to the raising of either. But above all, the *English Army* was labored by the *King*, to be engaged against the *English Parliament*: A thing of that strange impiety and unnaturalness, for the *King* of *England* to sollicit his *Subjects* of *England*, to sheath their *Swords* in one anothers bowels, that nothing can answer it, but *his own*, being born a *forreigner*; nor could it easily have purchased belief, but by his succeeding visible *Actions* in full pursuance of the same.

The first Execution of this design of *Misery*, fell upon our poor Brethren in *Ireland*, where so many scores of thousands of them were with such wonderful *cruelty* murdered, that scarce any bowels but are filled with *compassion* at it; and yet some of the *Murderers* themselves have not forbore to affirm, They had the *Kings Commission* for their *Actions*.

His late and slender proclaiming of them *Rebels*; his *Consent* to a *Cessation* when the *Rebels* gained all *advantages*, and the *Protestants* were destroyed by it; his intercepting and taking away *provisions* and *supplies* going unto them, are no good *testimonies* of his cleanness from that *blood* which cryed loud for *vengeance*.

But to return to *England*, where appeared matter enough of mourning. Upon the *Kings* coming in *Person* to the *House of Commons* to seize the *five Members*, whither he was followed with some hundreds of unworthy *debauched* persons, armed with *Swords* and *Pistols*, and other *Arms*; and they attending at the *door* of the *House*, ready to execute whatsoever their *Leader* should command them.

And upon some other *Grounds* (whereby doubts being raised in the people, that their grievances would not be redressed, they grew into some *Disorders*) the *King* took occasion from thence to remove from *London*, where presently *Forces* appeared for him of his own *Company* at *Kingston*.

From thence, he travelled to the *North*, endeavoring to raise *Forces* there, inticed many *Members* of both *Houses* to desert the *Parliament* and *Trust* reposed in them by their *Countrey*, and to joyn with him in bringing destruction upon their *Brethren*, and upon themselves: In stead of doing *Justice*, he protected *Delinquents* from it. At *Nottingham* he set up his *Standard*; from *Wales* and the *Marches*, he got together a powerful *Army*, and gave the first *Onset* of *Battel* at *Edgehil*.

He possessed and fortified *Oxford* his Head-quarter, and many other *Towns* and *places* of *strength*, and prosecuted a fierce and bloody *War* against the *Body* of all his own *Subjects* represented, and then sitting in *Parliament*; a thing never before attempted by any *King* in this *Nation*, and which all men have too sad cause with much grief to remember.

Their *Towns* and *Habitations* burnt, and demolished;

lished; their pleasant *Seats* wasted; their *Inheritances* given away to *those* that were most *active* in doing *mischief*; their *Servants*, *Brothers*, *Friends*, and *Children* murdered. Thus his own people, whom by the duty of his *Office* he was bound to protect from all injury, were by himself in person, pursued with *fire* and *sword*, *imprisonments*, *tortures*, *death*, and all the *Calamities* of *War* and *Desolation*.

Notwithstanding all this, and in the heat of it, many *Addresses* were made by the *Parliament* unto the *King* for *Peace*; but in none of them could an *Agreement* be obtained from him; when the least word of his *consent*, would have stopped that issue of *blood*, and torrent of *misery*, which himself had opened in all the parts of his *Kingdom*.

When the great *God* of *Battel* had determined very much in favor of the *Parliament*, and the *Kings* strength was almost slain away; so that he thought it unsafe to trust himself any longer with his own *Forces*, yet would he not then vouchsafe to come in unto the *English*, but rendred himself to his *Countrey-men* the *Scots*, giving unto them the honor both of *receiving* him, and *parting with him* again upon their own terms.

After his *Restraint*, yet further *Addresses* were made unto him by the *Parliaments* of *both Kingdoms* for *Peace*, with *Propositions*, not heightened by success: But these would not be granted, there being *new* and *hopeful designs* of *his* in hand, for bringing new miseries upon his people, which an *Agreement* upon those *Propositions* might easily have prevented:

After this passed the *Votes* for no further *Addresses* to be made unto him.

The last Summer the effect of those designs, even whilst he was under restraint, began to break forth; a *new* vein of *blood* was opened in the *Kings* name; a *plot* laid (as the Terms of their own boasting were) as *deep* as *Hell*; the Army divided into several bodies; the *fire* brake forth in many parts of the *Kingdom* at once; and for fear lest the numbers of their *English* should be too small, or their Compassion to their Country-men too great, a *Malignant* party in *Scotland* is easily invited hither: And although at first they understood the *Covenant* in that Sence, and prosecuted the ends thereof, in joyn- ing with the *Parliament* of *England*, and fighting against the *Kings* party; yet now their judgements are rectified to prosecute the same ends by joyn- ing with the *Kings* party, and fighting against their fellow- *Covenanters*, The *Parliament* of *England*. But God will not be mocked; and though this Cloud of fresh Calamities, both here and from the *North*, threatned the poor Nation, and in all humane probability was pouring utter ruine upon us; yet the visible hand of *God*, as many times formerly, so now mightily and miraculously appeared for us, and led the Army (whom he was pleased to make his Instruments) with that Courage, Wisdom, and Fidelity, as amazed and subdued our enemies, and preserved (under him) all that can be dear unto us.

During these distractions (and by what means is sufficiently known, and related more fully in a late *Declaration*) an eighth Address must be made unto

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the *King*, contrived by his party, the *Votes of Parliament* to the contrary revoked, and *Commissioners* sent to the *Isle of Wight*.

Where, in stead of yielding to their just desires, whilst they were treating with him for peace, even then was he plotting to raise a new War against them, and to draw more blood of his people: To this end his two elder Sons were in hostility, and armed with power of granting *Commissions* further to destroy the people committed to his charge.

Upon all these and many other unparalleled offences, upon his breach of *Faith*, of *Oaths* and *Protestations*, upon the cry of the blood of *Ireland* and of *England*, upon the tears of *Widows* and *Orphanes*, and *Childless parents*, and millions of persons undone by him, Let all the world of indifferent men judge, whether the *Parliament* had not sufficient cause to bring the *King* to *Justice*.

But it was objected (and it was the late Kings own Assertion) That those in his high-place are accountable for their Actions to none but *God*, whose Anointed they are. From whence it must follow, That all the men of this Land were onely made for the sake of that one man the *King*, for him to do with them what he pleaseth; as if they had been all created for no other purpose, but to satisfy the lusts, and to be a sacrifice to the perverse will of a Tyrant.

This will not easily be believed to be so ordained by *God*, who punisheth, but never establisheth injustice and oppression; whom we finde offended when the people demanded a *King*, but no expression of his displeasure

displeasure at any time, because they had no King. Such an *unaccountable Officer* were a strange *Monster* to be permitted by mankind. But this doctrine is better understood by the present age, then in former times, and requireth the less to be said in *confutation* of it, being enough to *confute* it self.

For the phrase of *Anoynted*, no learned Divine will affirm it to be applicable to the *Kings of England*, as to those of *Judah and Israel*, or more to a *King* then to every other *Magistrate*, or *Servant of God*; or that the words *Touch not mine anoynted*, were spoken of *Kings*, but unto *Kings*, who were reprov'd, and enjoyned to do no harm to the *Prophets* and *Saints of God*, there understood to be his *Anointed*.

Another Objection was, That to bring a *King* to *tryal* and *capital punishment*, is without president.

So were the *Crimes* of the late *King*; and certainly, the children of *Israel* had no known Law or President to punish the *Benjamites* for their odious abuse of the *Levites Wife*; yet God owned the Action.

There wants not *president* of some of his *Predecessors*, who have been *deposed* by *Parliaments*, but were afterwards in darkness, and in corners basely murdered. This *Parliament* held it more agreeable to Honor and Justice, to give the *King* a *fair and open tryal*, by above an hundred Gentlemen, in the most publike place of *Justice*, free (if he had so pleased) to make his own defence; that part of his Crime being then onely objected against him, of which the *Parliaments* of both his *Kingdoms* had by their joyn't *Declaration* formerly declared him *guilty*.

With

With his *Offences*, were joyned all along a strange *obstinacy* and *implacableness*, and incessant *labour* for the *destruction* of his People ; which (with the *unerring Truth* (wherein is no dispensation for Kings) that *No satisfaction shall be taken for the life of a Murtherer, but he shall surely be put to death ; and, That the Land cannot be cleansed of the Blood that is shed therein, but by the Blood of him that shed it*) brought on and effected the work of *Justice* upon him.

The *King* being dead, The next consideration fell upon his *Children*; from these *Branches* could be expected no other, then the same *bitter Fruit* which fell in the Reign of the *Father*, who had engaged *Them* in his own ways and quarrel ; and the *two Eldest* so early appearing in actual *Arms* and *Hostility* against the *Parliament*, No more *Safety* or *Security* could be hoped for from *Them*, then from their *Predecessor* ; nor in humane probability, as Affairs then stood, any safe way for a *sure Peace*, and prevention of future *Troubles*, and to avoid a *Succession* of *Misery* ; but by *taking away* the *Succession* of *that*, from whence it hath always *risen*, and would certainly spring again, if permitted to take new Root, the *Designs* and *practices* of Kings, their flatterers and evil Councillors.

The Objection is obvious of Injustice, to disherit those who have a Right and Title to the *Crown*. Surely, the *elder Right* is the *Peoples*, whom they claim to Govern : If any Right or Title were in the *eldest Son*, the same is forfeited by the *Fathers* act, in other cases ; even of *Offices of Inheritance*, which being forfeit for *breach of Trust*, (a Condition annexed to every Office) none will deny, but that the
same

same excludeth the Children as well as the Officer : But here the *elder Sons* Leavied *War* against the *Parliament* ; and it cannot be alledged, That the yonger Children were born to any thing.

But the same *Power* and *Authority* which first erected a *King*, and made him a *publique Officer* for the common good, finding them perverted, to their common Calamity, it may justly be admitted at the pleasure of *those* whose Officer he is, whether they will continue that Officer any longer, or *change* that Government for a *better*, and instead of *restoring Tyranny*, to *resolve* into *A Free State*.

Herein the *Parliament* received encouragement, by their observation of the *Blessing* of *God* upon other States ; The *Romans*, after their *Regifugium* for many hundred years together, *prospered* far more then under any of their *Kings* or *Emperors* : The State of *Venice* hath flourished for One thousand three hundred years : How much do the Commons in *Switzerland*, and other *Free States*, exceed those who are not so, in *Riches*, *Freedom*, *Peace*, and all *Happiness* ? Our *Neighbors* in the *United-Provinces*, since their *change* of Government, have wonderfully increased in *Wealth*, *Freedom*, *Trade*, and *Strength*, both by Sea and Land.

In *Commonwealths*, they finde *Justice* duly administered, the great Ones not able to oppress the poorer, and the Poor sufficiently provided for ; the seeds of *Civil War* and *Dissention*, by particular *Ambition*, *Claims* of *Succeſſion*, and the like (wherein this Nation hath been in many Ages grievously embroyled) wholly removed, and a just *Freedom* of their *Con-*
sciences,

sciences, Persons and Estates, enjoyed by all sorts of men. On the other side, looking Generally into the Times of our Monarchs, what Injustice, Oppression and Slavery were the Common People kept under? some great Lords scarce affording to some of their Servants, Tenants or Peasants, so good meat, or so much rest, as to their Dogs and Horses. It was long since warned in Parliament by a Privy Councillor to the late King, That we should take heed, lest by losing our Parliaments, it would be with us, as with the Common people in a Monarchy, where they are contented with Canvas clothing, and Wooden shoes, and look more like Ghosts than Men: This was intended for the fate of England, had our Monarch prevailed over us. To bring this to pass, their Beasts of Forrests must grow fat, by devouring the poor mans Corn; for want of which, he, and his Wife and Children must make many a hungry Meal: A Tradesman furnishing a great man with most part of his Stock, or a Creditor with Money, and expecting due satisfaction and payment, is answered with ill words, or blows, and the dear-bought Learning, That Lords and Kings servants are priviledged from Arrests and Process of Law. Thus many poor Creditors and their Families, have perished in the Injustice and prodigality of their lawless Creditors.

A poor Waterman with his Boat or Barge; a poor Countreyman with his Teem and Horses, and others of other callings, must serve the King for the Kings pay; which (if they can get) is not enough to finde themselves bread, when their wives and children have nothing, but the husbands labor to provide for them also.

For that one *Exaction* of the *Court*, called *Purveyance* (about which our *Ancestors* made so many good and *sharp* Laws; yet none of them could be kept) it hath been lately *computed* to cost the *Countrey* more in *one year*, then their *Assessments* to the *Army*.

These are *some* of those generally observed, and more publike *exactions*, which were obvious not to the *understanding* onely, but to the *sence* of the many grieved sufferers; but if the *vast expence* of the *Court* in ways of *luxury* and *prodigality* be considered; As on the one side, by a standing ill ordered *diet* for a number of *Drones*, and unprofitable *burthens* of the Earth, by chargeable *Feasts*, and *vain-glorious Masques* and *Plays* (their *Sabbath* days exercise or preparations) together with the other (less sinful, but no less) *chargeable provisions* for *Sports* and *Recreations*; for which *thousands* of *Acres*, *scores* of *Miles*, and great parts of whole *Counties* have been separated, from a much better and publike improvement.

On the other side, by those *profuse donations* of yearly *salaries* and *pensions* granted to such as were *found*, or might be made fit *instruments* and *promoters* of *Tyranny*; or else such as had *relation* to the *King*, in *native* or *personal respects*. In which latter kind may be shewed *accompmts* of above fifty thousand pounds *per annum* that was paid out of the *Exchequer* to *Favorites* of the *Scotish Nation*; besides the secret *supplies* from the *privy purse* & otherwise, best known to the *Receivers* (which may perhaps be one reason why they are so zealous to uphold the *Kingly power* in

in this *Nation*, whereof the *King* was their *Courtrey-man*.)

He that observes so many *hundreds of thousands* *communibus annis* expended in those ways, and shall know that the *legal* justifiable *Revenue* of the *Crown* (besides the *customs* and some other *perquisites* charged with the maintenance of the *Navy* and *Forts*) fell short of *One hundred thousand pounds*, might justly wonder what *secret* under-ground *supplies* fed those *streams* of *vanity* and *mischief*; were it not as *notorious*, that the *Projects*, *Monopolies*, *sales* of *Offices*, *Bribes*, *Compositions* for breach of *penal Laws*, and the like ways of draining the *peoples purses* as wickedly got, so were onely fit thus to be employed. By occasion whereof, the *Court* arrived at that unhappy height, as to be the great *nursery* of *luxury* and *intemperance*, the *corrupter* of the *maners* and *dispositions* of many otherwise-hopeful *Branches*, sprung from the *noblest Families*, and an *universal* *perverter* of *Religion* and *goodness* therein, making good the Proverb, *Exeat Aula qui vult esse pius*.

In a *Free State*, these, and multitude of the like *grievances* and *mischiefs* will be prevented; the *sci-tuation* and *advantages* of this *Land*, both for *Trade* abroad, and *Manufactures* at home, will be better understood, when the dangers of *Projects*, *Monopolies*, and *obstructions* thereof, are together with the *Court*, the *Fountain* of them, removed; and a *Free Trade*, with *incouragement* of *Manufacturies*, and *provision* for *poor*, be settled by the *Common-wealth*, whereunto the same is most agreeable; and which the *former Government* had never yet leisure effectually to do.

Upon all *these* before mentioned, and many other *weighty considerations*, The *Representatives* of the *People* now *Assembled* in *Parliament*, have judged it *necessary* to change the *Government* of this *Nation* from the former *Monarchy*, (unto which by many *injurious* *incroachments* it had arrived) into a *Republique*, and not to have any more a *King* to *tyrannize* over them.

In *Order* hereunto, and for the *better settlement* of this *Common-wealth*, it being found of great *inconvenience*, That the *House of Lords* (sitting in a *Body* by themselves, and called by *Writ* to treat and advise, yet) in the making of *Laws*, and other great *Affairs*, should any longer exercise a *Negative Vote* over the people, whom they did not at all represent; And likewise, a *Judicial* power over the *Persons* and *Estates* of all the *Commons*, whereof they are not *competent Judges*; and that *their power* and *greatness* did chiefly *depend* upon the power and absolute-ness of a *King*, whereunto they had lately expressed a sufficient inclination.

And it being most *evident*, That (especially in these times of *Exigency*) neither the *Government* of *Republique*, nor the *common safety* could bear the *Delays* and *Negatives* of a *House of Lords*, It was therefore thought *necessary*, wholly to *Abolish* and take the same away.

Leaving *nevertheless* unto those *Lords*, who have been, and shall be *faithful* to the *Commonwealth*, the same *priviledge* of *choosing*, and being *chosen* *Representatives* of the *People*, as other persons of *Interest* and good affections to the *Publique* have Right

unto;

unto; and which is not improbable to have been the way of our *Ancestors*, when *both* Lords and Commons formerly *sate* together.

But an *Objection* is frequently made, concerning the *Declaration* of the Houses, of *April*, 1646. for Governing the Kingdom by *King, Lords and Commons*, and other *Declarations* for *making* him a great and *happy* Prince.

It was fully then their *intent*, being at that time confident, That the *Kings ill Council* once removed from him, *he* would have conformed himself to the *desires* of his *People* in *Parliament*, and the *Peers* who remained with the *Parliament*, would have been a great *cause* of his so doing: But finding, after *seven* fruitless *Addresses* made unto him, that he yet both lived and dyed in the obstinate maintenance of his usurped *Tyranny*, and refused to accept of what the *Parliament* had declared: And to the upholding of this *Tyranny*, the *Lords* were all obliged, in regard of their own Interest in *Peerage*; whereby they assumed to themselves an *exorbitant* Power, of *Exemption* from paying of their just *Debts*, and answering Suits in *Law*; besides an Hereditary *Judicatory* over the *People*, tending to their *Slavery* and *Oppression*, The *Commons* were constrained to *change* their former *Resolutions*, finding themselves thus frustrated in their *Hopes* and *Intentions* so declared: Which *change* being for the good of the *Commonwealth*, no *Commoner* of *England* can justly repine at: Neither could the *King* or *Lords* take any advantage thereof, because they never consented thereto; and where no *Contract* is made, there none can be said to be broken:

And

And no Contract is truly *made*, but where there is a *Stipulation* on both sides, and *one* thing to be rendred for another; which not being in this case, but refused, the *Commons* were no ways tyed to maintain that *Declaration*; to the performance of which, they were not bound by any *Compact* or acceptance of the other part, and to the *alteration* whereof, so many Reasons for the *preservation* of the Peoples *Liberties* did so necessarily and fully oblige them.

Another *Objection* is, That these *great* Matters ought (if at all) to be determined in a *full* House, and not when many *Members* of Parliament are by *force* excluded, and the *Priviledge* so highly broken, and those who are permitted to sit in *Parliament*, do but *Act* under a *Force*, and upon their good behavior.

To this is answered, That every *Parliament* ought to *Act* upon their good behavior; and few have *Act-ed*, but some *kinde* of *force* hath at one time or other been upon them; and most of them under the *force* of *Tyrannical Will*, and *fear* of ruine by displeasure thereof; some under the force of several *Factions* or *Titles* to the *Crown*. Yet the *Laws* made, even by such Parliaments, have *continued*, and been *received* and *beneficial* to succeeding Ages. *All which*, and *what-soever* hath been done by this *Parliament*, since some of their *Members* deserted them, and the late King raised *Forces* against them, and several *Disorders* and *Affronts* formerly offered to them (if this *Objection* take place) are wholly *vacated*.

For any *breach* of *Priviledge* of Parliament, it will not be charged upon the *remaining* part, or to have been within their power of *prevention* or *reparation*;

or that they have not enjoyed the *freedom* of their own *persons* and *Votes*, and are *undoubtedly* by the Law of Parliaments, far exceeding that *number* which makes a *House*, authorized for the dispatch of any business whatsoever: And that which at present is called a *Force* upon them, is *some* of their best *Friends*, called and appointed by the Parliament for their *safety*, and for the *guard* of them against their *Enemies*; who by this means being disappointed of their Hopes to *destroy* the Parliament, would nevertheless scandalize their Actions, as done under a *force*; who, in truth, are no other, then their own *Guards* of their own *Army*, by themselves appointed: And when it fell into Consideration, Whether the *Priviledge* of Parliament, or the *Safety* of the Kingdom, should be preferred, it is not hard to judge which ought to *sway* the Ballance; And that the Parliament should pass by the *breach* of *Priviledge* (as had been formerly often done upon much smaller grounds) rather then by a sullen declining their *Duty* and *Trust*, to resign up all to the apparent hazard of *Ruine* and *Confusion* to the Nation.

There remains yet this last and weighty Objection to be fully answered, That the *Courts* of *Justice*, and the good *old Laws* and *Customs* of *England*, the *Badges* of our *Freedom* (the benefit whereof our Ancestors enjoyed long before the Conquest, and spent much of their blood, to have confirmed by the *Great Charter* of the *Liberties*, and other excellent *Laws* which have continued in all former changes, and being duly executed, are the most just, free, and equal of any other *Laws* in the world, will
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by the present *alteration* of *Government* be taken away, and lost to us and our posterities.

To this, they hope some satisfaction is already given by the *shorter Declaration* lately published; and by the *Real Demonstrations* to the contrary of this Objection by the earnest care of the *Parliament*, That the *Courts of Justice* at *Westminster* should be supplied the last *Term*; and all the *Circuits* of *England* this *vacation*, with learned and worthy *Judges*; that the *known Laws* of the *Land*, and the *Administration* of them, might appear to be continued.

They are very sensible of the *excellency* and *equality* of the *Laws* of *England* being duly executed; of their great *Antiquity*, even from before the time of the *Norman slavery* forced upon us; of the *Liberty*, and *property*, and *peace* of the *Subject*, so fully preserved by them; and (which falls out happily, and as an increase of *Gods* mercy to us) of the clear *Consistency* of them, with the present *Government* of a *Republique*, upon some easie alterations of *Form* onely, leaving intire the *Substance*; the *name* of *King* being used in them for *Form* onely, but no *power* of *personal Administration* or *Judgement* allowed to him in the *smallest matter* contended for.

They know their own *Authority* to be by the *Law*, to which the people have assented; and besides their particular *Interests*, (which are not inconsiderable) they more intend the *Common Interest* of those whom they serve, and clearly understand the same, not possible to be preserved without the *Laws* and
Government

Government of the Nation; and that if those should be taken away, all *industry* must cease, all *misery*, *blood*, and *confusion* would follow, and greater *calamities*, if possible, then fell upon us by the late *Kings misgovernment*, would certainly involve all persons, under which they must *inevitably* perish.

These *Arguments* are sufficient to perswade all men to be well contented to submit their lives and fortunes, to those just and long approved *Rules of Law*, with which they are already so fully acquainted, and not to believe, That the *Parliament* intends the *abrogation* of them.

But to continue and maintain the *Laws and Government of the Nation*, with the present *alterations*; and with such further *alterations* as the *Parliament* shall judge fit to be made, for the due *Reformation* thereof, for the taking away of *corruptions*, and *abuses*, *delays*, *vexations*, *unnecessary travel* and *expences*, and whatsoever shall be found really *burthensom* and *grievous* to the people.

The *sum* of all the *Parliaments* design and endeavor in the present change of *Government*, from *Tyranny* to a *Free State*; and which they intend not onely to declare in words, but *really* and *speedily* endeavor to bring to effect, is this;

To *prevent* a new *War*, and further expence and effusion of the *Treasure* and *Blood* of *England*; and to *establish* a firm and safe *peace*, and an *oblivion* of all *Rancor*, and ill will occasioned by the late troubles; to provide for the due *Worship* of *God*, according to his *Word*, the *advancement* of the true *Protestant Religion*, and for the liberal and certain *maintenance* of

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Godly Ministers ; to procure a just *Liberty* for the *Consciences, Persons, and Estates*, of all men conformable to *Gods glory*, and their own peace ; to endeavor *vigorously*, the punishment of the *cruel Murderers* in *Ireland*, and the restoring of the *honest Protestants*, and this Commonwealth to their *Rights* there, and the full *satisfaction* of all *Engagements* for this Work ; To provide for the settling and just observing of *Treaties* and *Alliances* with *Forreign Princes* and *States*, for the encouragement of *Manufatures*, for the encrease and flourishing of *Trades* at home, and the *maintenance* of the *poor* in all places of the Land.

To take care for the due *Reformation* and *Administration* of the *Law* and publique *Justice* ; that the *evil* may be punished, and the *good* rewarded.

To order the *Revenue* in such a way, That the publique *Charges* may be defrayed, The *Soldiers* pay justly and duly settled, That *Free-quarter* may be wholly taken away, The People be eased in their *Burthens* and *Taxes*, and the *Debts* of the Commonwealth be justly satisfied.

To remove all *Grievances* and *Oppressions* of the People, and to establish *Peace* and *Righteousness* in the Land.

These being their *onely* ends, they cannot doubt of, and humbly pray to the Almighty Power, for his *Assistance* and *Blessing* upon their mean Endeavors ; wherein, as they have not *envied* or *intermeddled*, nor do intend at all to *intermeddle* with the Affairs or Government of any other Kingdom or State ; or to give any *offence* or just provocation to their *Neighbors*,

bors, with whom they desire intirely to preserve all fair *Correspondence* and *Amity*, if they please; and confine themselves to the *proper* work, The *managing* of the Affairs, and *ordering* the Government of this *Commonwealth*, and matters in order thereunto, with which they are *intrusted* and authorized by the *consent* of all the People thereof, whose *Representatives* by Election they are.

So, they do *presume* upon the like *fair* and *equal* dealing from *abroad*; and that they who are *not concerned*, will not *interpose* in the Affairs of *England*, who doth not *interpose* in theirs: And in case of any *Injury*, they doubt not, but by the *Courage* and *power* of the *English* Nation, and the good *Blessing* of *God*, (who hath hitherto miraculously owned the justice of their Cause, and, they hope, will continue to do the same) they shall be sufficiently enabled to make their full *Defence*, and to *maintain* their own *Rights*.

And they do *expect* from all *true-hearted* English men, not onely a *forbearance* of any publique or secret *Plots* or *Endeavors*, in opposition to the present *Settlement*, and thereby to kindle *new* flames of *War* and *Misery* amongst us, whereof themselves must have a share.

But a cheerful *concurrence*, and *acting* for the *E-stablishment* of the *great Work* now in hand, in such a way, That the *Name* of *God* may be *honored*, the true *Protestant Religion* *advanced*, and the people of this *Land* enjoy the blessings of *Peace*, *Freedom*, and *Justice*, to them and their Posterities.

And this is the first time that I have
seen you since we parted. I am
glad to hear that you are well and
hope that you will continue to be so.
I have been thinking of you very
much lately and wondering how you
are getting on.

I have been very busy lately with
my work and have not had time to
write to you as often as I would
like. I am sorry that I cannot
write to you more often, but I hope
that you will understand. I am
well and hope that you are the same.
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